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The Campaign in South Carolina. The real Democratic policy exposed. Republican Reform vindicated etc. 1876.

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THE CAMPAIGN IN SOUTH CAROLINA

THE REAL DEMOCRATIC POLICY EXPOSED

The "Mississippi" Tactics as Practiced in South Carolina

LETTER OF GOV. CHAMBERLAIN

TO THE

CHAIRMAN OF THE STATE DEMOCRATIC EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

Republican Reform Vindicated and Democratic Violence Arraigned

A FREE BALLOT SHALL BE SECURED

Colonel Haskell to Governor Chamberlain.

ROOMS STATE DEMOCRATIC EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE,
COLUMBIA, S. C., September 28, 1876.

To his Excellency Daniel H. Chamberlain, Columbia, S. C.

SIR: I beg leave to tender you, in behalf of General Wade Hampton and the other nominees upon the state democratic ticket, and in pursuance of the spirit manifested in the card issued on 23d August by the state democratic executive committee, an invitation to attend the democratic mass meetings which are being held in succession in each county in the state. The order in which they follow, together with the dates, appears in nearly all of the papers in the state. You are invited to be present and join in the discussion. You are aware that the canvass is a warm one, and that your party and your own official course are charged with having inflicted great wrongs upon the people whose interests it is your duty to promote. That is the nature of political discussion under such circumstances; but you are at the same time well aware that the people you are invited to address are, by nature and by habit, quiet and law-abiding, and that, so far from rudeness or violence, you will personally receive nothing but courteous treatment, however bitterly your political and official course may be assailed.

You will call to mind that on the 18th instant I gave this invitation to you verbally, and your reply was that you appreciated the attention, but your policy for the campaign had not been fixed; that personal matters required you to go north; that your absence would be for probably eight days, and you could not give your positive answer until after your return. I learned yesterday that you had returned, and I beg leave, as I said, to formally extend to you this invitation, assuring you that if you accept it your appearance before the democracy throughout this state will be to yourself as governor a most pleasing refutation of the slanderous charges which constantly are published against our party in some newspapers which claim to be your political organs, and also in the northern papers, backed by the name of Senator Patterson or some other person, who claims to be your political friend and exponent. We deem it due to you and to ourselves that these charges be either contradicted by your denial of them or looked into by your going in person to ascertain the truth. You do not hold the position of candidate only, you are also governor of this state; and while as a mere candidate you may not be bound to correct charges which your followers make against your opponents, though you know them to be false, you are as governor and candidate bound by your gubernatorial pledge and honor to prevent your followers using the sanction of your official silence to sustain these charges against your opponents when the charges allege the overthrow of the peace and dignity of the state which you are sworn to defend. As instances of the class of slanders to which I refer, I beg leave to cite the following:

WASHINGTON, September 6.

It is reported here, upon what is deemed good authority, that parties in New York have agreed to ship Chamberlain 20,000 stand of arms to arm the blacks in South Carolina. This is one of Chamberlain's tricks to curry favor with the blacks and be renominated. The arms will be landed in Charleston on the 11th instant, the day before the meeting of the republican state convention. While here, Chamberlain was very bitter in his denunciation of the South Carolina whites, calling them ku klux, scoundrels, &c.—New York Sun.

WASHINGTON, September 6.

Governor Chamberlain, of South Carolina, has just returned from another visit to this city to confer with the authorities upon sending troops to that state. The governor was noisy in his denunciations of such men as Haskell, Hampton, Gary, ex-Governor Perry and others, whom he charges are on the eve of precipitating another rebellion. He makes the idle boast that he has proof that Butler and Hampton were at the head of the Hamburg riot, and he expects in less than two months to have them tried. The governor declared to a prominent South Carolina politician last night that he was done with reform talk, and hereafter the legislature would find no better in him. The

governor has made arrangements to have 20,000 stand of arms sent down to arm the blacks. The arms will be landed in Charleston on the 11th instant, the day previous to the meeting of the radical convention.

[New York World.

WASHINGTON, September 20.

Senator Patterson arrived here this morning from South Carolina to apply for more help to protect the voters and prevent the terrorism which extends over the whole state. Governor Chamberlain and United States Marshal Wallace and others will arrive to-morrow morning. An old resident of Columbia told the senator last week that he could not speak to him on the street if he met him. The excitement and feeling is far worse than it was in 1860 and the days of secession, and it is dangerous to even speak to a radical. Judge Cooke, who has acted for years with the republicans, made a speech not long since advocating the election of Wade Hampton and Governor Tilden, and excused himself by saying that he was forced to do so to save his property and perhaps his life.

The whole white male democratic population is said to be completely armed, and large consignments of rifles, revolvers and knives are received constantly. Yet no dealer will sell a republican even a knife. The very boys are armed, and the boys of the military school at Columbia openly wear their revolvers belted around them. The senator says that fully 30,000 men, armed and mounted, are thoroughly patrolling the whole state under the direction and command of Butler, of Hamburg fame, and these forces are not only armed, but completely organized and drilled.

The people are reported as expressing themselves openly in favor of a fight, and as saying they don't care a —— for the United States, the troops, or the north, but that they are ready and anxious to clear out all the troops that General Grant can send. They say that if they do have any trouble Governor Tilden will carry Indiana and Ohio in October, and New York in November, which ensures his election; they are bound to elect Hampton or destroy the state. Senator Patterson says that unless they have immediate help no colored man will dare to move or talk, much less to vote, and if Indiana goes democratic that South Carolina, North Carolina and Florida will follow, and there will be an outbreak which will almost be one of extermination of republicans. Murders are done every day of which not a whisper reaches the north.—New York Tribune.

It is not my meaning that you should take the pains to deny every error that may appear in campaign speeches or papers, but I do mean that when statements appear as coming from yourself, or from others who are robed with the dignity of office, which ought to attach importance and a credibility to what they say, and when these utterances, as in the instances above cited, are totally false and affect the character of the state, it is the duty, I respectfully submit, of the governor to deny them. And if he (the governor) believes them to be true, it is his duty to restore peace and order; and to do so it is his sworn duty to call upon the citizens to sustain him and enforce the law. All these assaults are made against the democratic party. Whatever may be our political error, in your estimation, in belonging to that party, we are none the less citizens of this state, and as such we have the right to ask of you that protection which, in your official position, you alone can give.

If there be terrorism and violence in the state, call upon us to suppress it, and do not let the name of the state be perverted to dishonorable political purposes.

You, and no one better, know that the white people of South Carolina are struggling as few people ever have done to cast off a burthen of corruption and wrong such as yet fewer people have ever borne so long. In your own words, speaking of your own party:

"Reform, if it was not of itself right, has become absolutely necessary, or the state will sink."

"The party has ever been going into campaigns promising retrenchment and reform and never performing it."

"Matters cannot run for six years to come as they have for the past six years."

"These figures" (speaking of legislative expenses) "I may say are unparalleled in the history of American legislation. It is stealing pure and simple."

And, referring to the election of two judges—elected, I may say, by the leading man now on the ticket with you, "their election has sent a thrill of horror throughout the state. * * * I look to their election as a horrible disaster." "The civilization of the puritan and the cavalier, of the roundhead and the Huguenot, is in peril. Courage, determination, union, victory, must be our watchwords."

"No party can rule this state that supports Whipper and Moses. * * * * There is but one way to save the republican party in South Carolina, and that way is to unload Whipper and Moses and all who go with them. * * * * Neither the administration at Washington, with all its appliances—civil and military—nor all the denunciations of the world heaped upon me, can save the republican party here from overwhelming defeat during this year, unless we can persuade the people of this state that such things as these judicial elections will be undone and never by possibility repeated."

You know that the men who were the leaders, who conducted that election, and who perpetrated the wrongs of which it was a feeble expression, are the same men who control the ticket upon which your name stands, who devised your party platform, and are to-day your political exponents. You know that it is against all this that our unfortunate people are struggling; and yet you know full well that their efforts, although in the warmth of canvass, are orderly and within the law. Your manhood compels you to approve our course, but we do not call upon you for that. As a candidate you are entitled to all benefits which can accrue from the measures which your followers (or, if you would permit me, I would say your party leaders, for your independent course was very different,) have adopted. But as the governor of the state you are called upon to either contradict the assertion that the law is overthrown and that terrorism prevails, or to suppress this lawlessness; and it is our right that you call upon us before you appeal to the government of the United States. Our services are at your command, and whatever is our duty we are ready to do.

To recur. I beg leave again to extend to you the invitation, and ask of you to communicate it to the candidates upon your ticket, as it is meant for them as well as for yourself. It is the wish of the democratic party that you accept it, for we are earnestly desirous to remove the bitterness of race feeling, which we attribute to the prejudices and erroneous views which have been instilled into the colored race. And we honestly desire "peaceful and untrammeled discussion, that the people may become enlightened on the issues of the day."

Your early reply will be deemed a favor, and if such be your wish, preparation will be made to receive you at the first meeting that it shall be your pleasure to indicate.

I have the honor to be, very respectfully, your obedient servant,

A. C. HASKELL.

Chairman state democratic executive committee.

Governor Chamberlain's Reply.

COLUMBIA, S. C., October 4, 1876.

A. C. Haskell, Esq., Chairman Democratic State Executive Committee, Columbia, S. C.

SIR: I have received your communication of the 28th ultimo, covering several matters connected with the political canvass now in progress in this state and the general condition of our public affairs. You first invite me and the nominees upon the republican state ticket "to attend the democratic mass meetings which are being held in succession in each county in the state." This part of your communication would have been addressed more naturally—and I trust you will permit me to add, more properly—to the chairman of the republican state committee, whose function it is, as the organ of that committee, to consider and determine the methods and order of the canvass on the part of the republican party. In answer, therefore, to your invitation, I am unable to say more than that I have informed the chairman of the republican state committee that as soon as the duties of my office, which now imperatively require my presence at the capital, shall permit it, I shall be ready to meet General Hampton at any suitable points in the state, not in "democratic mass meetings," but in mass meetings to be called by both parties for the purpose of joint discussions, upon terms of perfect equality in all respects of the political issues now before our people. You will doubtless receive at an early day a proposition of such a nature from the republican state committee, with such suggestions regarding details as will commend themselves to your

sense of fairness and secure the objects which you profess to seek in your invitation—the removal of "the bitterness of race feeling, which we (you) attribute to the prejudices and erroneous views which have been instilled into the colored race," and a "peaceful and untrammeled discussion, that the people may become enlightened on the issues of the day." In saying this, I am confident I faithfully represent also the wishes and purposes of all my associates on the republican state ticket.

The remainder of your communication is occupied with statements of what you claim to be the spirit and conduct and purposes of the democratic party in the state, with a special call upon me "as governor and candidate," to contradict certain alleged statements respecting the present condition of the state and the action of men who belong to the democratic party, which you call "slanderous charges," or to "look into them by going in person to ascertain the truth." You say that "my appearance before the democracy through out the state will be to me as governor a most pleasing refutation of the slanderous charges which constantly are published against your party in some newspapers which claim to be my political organs, and also in the northern papers, backed by the name of Senator Patterson or some other person who claims to be my political friend and exponent." You say that I am "as governor and candidate, bound by my gubernatorial pledge and honor, to prevent my followers using the sanction of my official silence to sustain these charges against my opponents, when these charges allege the overthrow of the peace and dignity of the state which I am sworn to defend." You present three examples of the charges to which you refer, are taken from the Washington correspondence, respectively, of the New York Sun, New York World and New York Tribune. You say that "these utterances, in the instances above cited, are totally false, and affect the character of the state," and that if I "believe them to be true it is my duty to restore peace and order, and to do so it is my sworn duty to call upon the citizens to sustain me and enforce the law."

You proceed further to say that "I, and no one better, know that the white people of South Carolina are struggling as few people ever have done to cast off a burthen of corruption and wrong, such as yet fewer people have ever borne so long," and you proceed to make extended quotations from former remarks of mine respecting our public affairs, and to say that the men who committed the wrongs which I denounced "are the same men who control the ticket upon which my name stands, who devised my party platform and are to-day my political exponents." You say that I "know that it is against all this that our unfortunate people are struggling, and yet that I know full well that their efforts, although in the warmth of canvass, are orderly and within the law." You say that my "manhood compels me to approve your course," and finally you declare that "as governor of the state I am called upon to either contradict the assertion that the law is overthrown, and that terrorism prevails, or to suppress this lawlessness," and that "it is your right that I call upon you before I appeal to the government of the United States."

I am pleased to observe and acknowledge the respectful terms in which your statements and charges are framed, so far as they affect me. These statements and charges cover in substance the whole field of our present political controversy, together with the matters growing out of that controversy, and affecting the public peace and the common civil rights of our citizens. In addition to your direct call upon me, in your character as the official representative of the democratic party, to express my views upon the matters presented by you, the nature of your communication and the statements and charges which you make seem to compel me to speak. I do this with profound reluctance. Not only will the expression of my views disclose how widely you and I stand apart upon all the questions involved, but it will, in my sober judgment, disclose to the world a condition of things inexpressibly disgraceful to the good name of our state. Though General Hampton is reported to have said substantially, in recent public speeches, that I could not, by reason of my nativity, feel such an interest and pride in the fame of South Carolina as becomes her governor, and, though you may share in this opinion, I still venture to say to you that I have regretted deeply the receipt of your communication, because it forces me, while I hold my present high office, to present views and convictions which, if correct, reflect infinite discredit upon a large portion of the people of this state. It is, however, as portions of your communication show, no new experience to me to find myself compelled by a sense of duty to pursue a course which has subjected me, not only as in the present instance, to the increased hostility of political opponents, but to the suspicion and denunciation of political friends. But I profess to put my duty to the state above all other present considerations, and that duty, as I understand it, requires me to reply to your communication fully, plainly and fearlessly.

SLANDEROUS CHARGES.

With respect to the specific instances of "slanderous charges," which you cite from the New York papers, let me first say that the statements respecting me made in the Sun and the World are wholly untrue and unfounded. Nothing remotely resembling what is there stated was ever said or done by me. The extract from the Tribune professes to give the views and statements of Senator Patterson, for which I am not responsible. How far my views coincide with or differ from those attributed to Senator Patterson will best appear in what I shall hereafter say.

I shall now proceed to present my views upon the several matters relating to our present political condition which are covered by your communication.

THE ISSUE STATED.

Your claim in substance is that I am the head of a party and ticket which represents and is responsible for a burden of corruption and wrongs grievously oppressive to the state; that the success of that party and ticket would be disastrous to the interests of the state; that my position upon that ticket is inconsistent with my public record; that the democracy, on the other hand, are engaged in a political struggle with the sole aim of freeing the state from this burden of corruption

and wrongs, and that all your methods and actions are peaceful and within the law. In support of your view of my present position, you refer to my public denunciations of past acts of the republican party or its members. You thus challenge not only my political integrity and honor, but my personal consistency as a public man. In order properly to meet your challenge, especially as to my personal consistency, I must refer to the course of events in this state during the last two years.

REVIEW OF LAST TWO YEARS.

I was nominated and elected in 1874 as the candidate of the republican party, under pledges, both personal and party, to reform the abuses which then existed. In my inaugural address I developed in detail my plans of reform—plans which met the earnest approval of the general public of the state without regard to party. That I pursued the course there marked out earnestly and faithfully is a claim which cannot be successfully or even plausibly disputed. I found a considerable part of my own party opposed to my course, and thus my fidelity to my pledges and to the cause of reform, as I understood it, was put to severe and unexpected tests. It is not egotism but truth which leads me to affirm that I bore those tests in a manner which commanded the praise of the friends of reform throughout the state. The press of this state, the public utterances of its leading citizens, every organ of public opinion, will furnish the proof of this assertion. My record as governor was elaborately reviewed in July last by the Charleston News and Courier—beyond comparison the ablest, and, in a normal condition of affairs, the most liberal, democratic newspaper in this state or in the south—in a series of editorial articles founded on official and indisputable records. From the closing article of this series, entitled "The Record of Governor Chamberlain—A Summary," I make the following extracts:

"We have scrutinized, one by one, the most important pledges and recommendations contained in the addresses and messages since his election, and we now briefly sum up the result of the investigation we have made."

* * * * * * * *

"The abuse of the pardoning power has been corrected.

"The character of the officers of the government, appointed by the executive has been improved, and the sureties upon the bonds of public officers have been required to make affidavits of their ability to meet the liability they assume.

"The settlement of the public debt has been maintained unchanged, and faith with the public creditor so far as dependent on executive and legislative action has been fully kept.

"The effort to place the whole of the public funds in two banks of small capital was frustrated, and the state so saved from the danger of far greater loss than was sustained by the failure of the Solomon bank.

"The floating indebtedness of the state has been provided for in such a way that the rejecting of fraudulent claims is assured; the recognized and valid claims are scaled one-half the amount, and their payment is distributed over a term of four years, resulting in a saving to the state of at least $400,000.

"The tax laws have been amended so as to secure substantial unanimity and equality in the assessment of property for taxation.

"The contingent funds of the executive department have been so reduced in amount that the saving in two years, upon the basis of the average of six previous years, is $161,200.

"Legislative expenses, in like manner, and upon a similar basis, have been so reduced as to save the people in two years $350,810.

"Legislative contingent expenses in the same way have been so reduced as to save the state $355,000.

"In the expenditure of contingent funds accountability and publicity have been secured.

"The cost of public printing has been reduced from an annual average of $306,209 to $50,000, saving in two years $512,418 The salaries of public officers have been reduced $20,000 a year.

"The tax levy for the current year for state purposes has been reduced from 13½ mills to 11 mills, a saving to the people this year of $300,000.

"The deficiencies (including the losses by the Solomon bank) are, for the year 1874–75, $308,872, which is $291,024 less than the deficiencies of 1872–73, and $233,315 less than the deficiencies of 1873–74.

"Under the several heads the savings that have actually been made are:

In the bonanza bill	$400,000
In the executive contingent fund	101,260
In legislative expenses	350,810
In contingent expenses	355,000
In public printing	512,418
Total	$1,719,488

"To realize this amount would require a tax of nearly one and a half per cent. Had the appropriations of the past two years has been as inordinate as the average of the appropriations and expenditures of the preceeding years, the state taxes of the past two years would have been three-quarter per cent. a year more than the outrageous rate actually levied.

"This is the record of Governor Chamberlain as shown by hard figures and unmistakable facts. We have strained or exaggerated nothing. The plain truth as we know it has been faithfully given. And we maintain that the record as it stands is one of which Governor Chamberlain has cause to be proud, that it justifies the support which has been given him, and is a complete answer to those of our friends who think that no act of Governor Chamberlain deserves public commendation but his refusal to issue the commissions to Whipper and Moses That bold act applauded everywhere in South Carolina has not been mentioned in these articles." * * *

No act or word of mine since the publication of those articles, and up to my renomination as governor during the past month, can be pointed to which is inconsistent with the record thus presented. I was a candidate for renomination by the republican party upon my record as a republican reformer. Every man and every newspaper speaking for me or representing me, placed his advocacy of my renomination upon the distinct ground of my fidelity and success in the work of reform in this state. I myself during the months of July and August last made an extensive canvass of the state, addressing mass meetings in over twenty counties, and on every occasion when I addressed the people without hindrance or restraint, (the exceptional occasions I shall refer to hereafter,) I announced in clear and aggressive terms my determination to push forward the work of reform, declared that I stood upon my record as governor, and had become again a candidate solely for the purpose of completing the work I had already begun. The issue involved in my candidacy for renomination was everywhere proclaimed by my friends and admitted by my enemies to be the endorsement or rejection, by the republican party, of my work and policy of reform. Upon the assembling of the republican nominating convention during the past month it appeared that fully two-thirds of its members were immovably determined upon my renomination. I have never heard of a suspicion or hint that any motives were presented to any members of that convention to influence their action, except the single consideration of my merits or demerits as presented in my record of the past two years. My renomination was earnestly, not to say violently, opposed by a minority of the convention, but this opposition was placed wholly upon charges of my want of fidelity to strictly partisan interests of the republican party or a failure to sufficiently regard the interests and wishes of some members of the party.

THE REPUBLICAN PLATFORM.

In preparing the platform of our party I was invited by the committee having the work in charge to meet the committee and to present my views. I accepted this invitation, and I here present those portions of the platform adopted by the convention to which my efforts were especially directed.

"4 That in presenting to the people of South Carolina our nominees for the high offices of the state for the coming two years, we believe we should make plain and unmistakable the aims and principles to which we stand pledged, in the event of their election; not in glittering generalities of reform, but in specific and substantial articles.

"6. We pledge ourselves to thorough reform in all departments of the state government where abuses shall be found to exist, and, as an earnest of the same, declare our purpose of submitting to the qualified voters of the state the following specific reforms as amendments to the state constitution:

1. That the present adjustment of the bonded debt of the state shall be inviolable.
2. That the general assembly shall meet only once in every two years, and that the length of no session thereof shall exceed seventy days.
3. That the number of sessions of courts of general sessions and common pleas shall be reduced to two annually in each county, with power reserved to the judges to call special sessions when necessary.
4. That the veto power of the governor shall be so modified as to allow of the disapproval of a part without effect upon the rest of an act.
5. That agricultural interests shall be relieved from burdensome taxation by a more equitable distribution of taxes and by the inaugration of a system of licenses fixed upon fair principles.
6. That no public funds shall ever be used for the support of sectarian institutions.
7. That the enormous evil of local and special legislation shall be prohibited whenever private interests can be protected under general laws.
8. And inasmuch as the system of free schools was created in the state by the republican party, and should be especially fostered and protected by it, we pledge ourselves to the support of the amendment to the state constitution, now before the people, establishing a permanent tax for the support of free schools, and preventing the removal of school funds from the counties where raised.

7. We pledge ourselves and the nominees of the republican party of the state to the securing of the following purposes by legislative enactment:

1. The further and lowest reduction of salaries of all public servants, consistent with the necessities of government.
2. The reduction of fees and costs, especially of attorneys in civil cases, and the amendment of the laws governing the settlement of estates in such manner as to secure a more economical administration and settlement of small estates.
3. The immediate repeal of the agricultural lien law.
4. Public printing to be reduced at least one-third of the present appropriation.
5. Convict labor to be utilized under such laws as shall secure humane treatment and the support of convicts without needless expense to the state.
6. The annual appropriations for public institutions to be economically made and properly expended.
7. The number of trial justices to be reduced throughout the state, and each justice to be assigned to specific territory, with moderate salaries to cover costs of criminal business, adjusted in proportion to populations.
8. Recognizing the enormous expense of fencing farms and the scarcity of timber in some sections of the state, we feel it to be necessary that practical relief be afforded to the people of the state, and we pledge ourselves to secure such legislation upon the subject as will give to the electors of each county the right to regulate this question for themselves.

I make no comment on this platform further than to invite its comparison with the platform of the democratic party, and its examination as a statement of the practical reforms and changes now demanded by the best interests of the state.

RESULTS ACCOMPLISHED.

Two results accomplished by the republican convention have now been presented. First, my renomination by more than a two-thirds vote upon the sole and distinct issue of my reform record; second, the adoption by the convention of a platform which binds the republican party to reform in general, and to reform in detail—a platform which must meet the approval of every man who is familiar with the present practical wants of the state. I now present these two results as a complete refutation of your charge of personal inconsistency on my part in accepting my present position on the republican ticket, as well as a vindication and proof of the determination of the republican party to carry forward and complete the work of reform. So far as these two results are concerned, I do not know how my policy and record as governor—which has commanded, as I have shown, in its relations to reform, the cordial praise and approval of almost every man in your party—could have received a more signal or satisfactory endorsement by my own party. Looking to these results my position is one of complete, fairly-earned, honorable triumph. It is far better than that—it is an ample and remarkable triumph of the great cause of governmental reform in this state.

NOMINATION OF MR. ELLIOTT.

But there are expressions in your communication which indicate that in your view the alleged inconsistency and dishonor of my present position lie in my association upon the republican ticket with certain other nominees, and especially with Mr. Elliott, the nominee for attorney-general. Of my associates upon the state ticket, other than Mr. Elliott, I know of no alleged public cause of complaint or dissatisfaction, except that two of them have disapproved of my course as governor on certain party grounds, while I ought not to omit to add that in the renomination of Mr. Cardozo as treasurer, a gentleman who has been my conspicuous and devoted friend and supporter in every feature of my administration, the cause of reform has achieved another most notable triumph. With reference to the nomination of Mr. Elliott, I am charged with individual inconsistency and want of fidelity to reform because Mr. Elliott has opposed my course as governor in some important features and was strenuously opposed to my renomination. It is true that Mr. Elliott has differed from me widely in some instances, and particularly in respect to the election of Whipper as circuit judge and my refusal to sign his commission. If it be inconsistent and dishonorable for me to remain upon the ticket for this cause I think I can point you to similar instances of dishonor among those who still command your support.

DEMOCRATIC "DISHONOR."

Governor Tilden was nominated by the democratic party as a professed hard money candidate on a professed hard money platform. He is associated on the same ticket with Governor Hendricks, his most prominent opponent for the nomination of president, and the leading champion of soft money and inflation. No more pronounced antagonism of

views upon the leading political issue, prior to their nominations, could have existed; yet we now see Governor Tilden and Governor Hendricks adjusting themselves, with a skill and success greatly satisfactory to your party at least, upon the same ticket and the same platform, and I hear no charge of inconsistency or dishonor against Governor Tilden from the democratic party.

But I do not choose to answer your charge with this retort alone. While it is true—and I think it due to myself to state the fact—that I did not approve of or aid in or consent to the nomination of Mr. Elliott, it is also true that Mr. Elliott, at the time of his nomination and since, has declared his full and cordial acceptance of the work of the convention in renominating me and in adopting the platform which pledges the party and its nominees to thorough and specific reforms. The causes of his nomination were not his opposition to me or to reform, but his admitted ability for the position, his long record of political service to his party and a desire, as in the case of Governor Hendricks, to conciliate an element of the party which had been defeated in my renomination. I am, therefore, in no sense compromised or dishonored in my character as a reformer by my association upon the same ticket with Mr. Elliott. On the contrary, I am entitled to all the confidence ever bestowed upon me in that respect, so far as my individual or personal position is concerned, and I am entitled to all the increase of confidence which comes from my success in bringing my own party to endorse me and the entire policy of reform which I have inaugurated and carried on, and the consequent increase of my ability to serve that cause.

Whenever you or others present the record of my denunciations of past wrongs done by the republican party in this state, you present that portion of my record of which I am most proud; for, while it is very easy to float with the tide of party sentiment and action, it is some test of one's fidelity to duty to denounce the actions of one's party associates and defy their opposition and hatred. I stand by every word and syllable of that record. I wish the record were longer and louder, though, as it stands, I challenge its comparison with that of any man in this state who now opposes me.

WHIPPER AND MOSES.

Your communication lays special emphasis, as supporting your position, upon the election of Whipper and Moses, and you quote conspicuously my denunciations of those elections. I reaffirm every word you quote, and I further declare that what I then asserted to be the only path of duty or safety for the republican party has been done. Whipper and Moses and all who go with them have been repudiated and "unloaded." Their elections have been defeated and their threatened elevation to the bench of South Carolina has been prevented. Moses has resigned, and Whipper has been compelled to seek the courts, wherein ninety-nine out of every hundred of the lawyers of this state regard his claim as destined to sure defeat. And this has been accomplished by the republican party; for whatever I have done is chargeable to the credit of the republican party, which has now endorsed and renominated me. "Courage, determination, union, victory," have been "our watchwords," and in that sign we have conquered.

Such, sir, is my answer to your charge of personal inconsistency and dishonor in accepting my present position on the republican state ticket, and to your further charge that the success of that ticket would be disastrous to the interests of our people. I occupy individually to-day a greatly advanced position on the line of the great battle of reform, and I have behind me, following my lead, the united republican party of this state.

DEMOCRATIC CLAIMS.

I must now examine your claim that the democratic party is engaged in the present canvass in a simple struggle to throw off the burden of misgovernment, and that all your methods and agencies are legitimate and peaceful.

THE "CONSERVATIVE" POLICY.

You are aware that the present policy of the democratic party in this state was earnestly opposed and its adoption deeply deplored by a portion of that party amounting to nearly a majority, and I am aware that that policy is still deeply deplored by many of the members of that party. The opponents of that policy embraced the leading and only widely-circulated newspaper in the state, the Charleston News and Courier, as well as a great number of our most honored and experienced citizens, in all ranks and occupations of our society. If I were to call the roll of those names I think it would be found to embrace and represent a vast preponderance in the talent, property, political experience and breadth of sentiment and view in our state. The grounds of their opposition to the policy, popularly called the "straight-out" policy, were clearly defined, and had exclusive reference to the advancement of the cause of practical reform in the state. They knew and recognized the fact that the republican party embraced a majority of at least twenty-five thousand of the voters of the state. They knew and recognized the fact that the colored race, who constitute the larger part of the republican voters, were attached to that party by ties the strongest which ever govern men's political actions—the profound conviction, whether mistaken or not, that the great boons so recently conferred on them—freedom and suffrage—were safe only, in their full breadth and beneficence under the protection of the party which had conferred them. They believed upon evidence too clear to leave room for doubt that for this cause no number of these voters, sufficient to change the relations of our parties, could be detached from the republican party by argument or legitimate persuasion or other lawful methods of influencing their political action. They recognized in me one whose republicanism was original and radical, but whose course in the practical conduct of public affairs gave assurance that I had the true interests of all the people of the state as my guiding principle in public life. Upon these grounds the men to whom I refer counselled a policy which subordinated the interests of party to the good of the state. Their policy contemplated, first, the acquiescence of the democratic party in my nomination by the republican party, if that should take place, and such other of the nominees upon the republican state ticket as should be unexceptionable; and, second, an effort by all

conciliatory and legitimate means to secure a large minority of representation for the democratic party in both houses of the legislature, and in all local or county offices. In the May convention of the democratic party this policy apparently received the support of a majority of the convention. That it offered the only prospect of the removal of the present race and party lines, and the establishment of relations of confidence and co-operation in public affairs between the two races, was clear then and is clearer now.

THE "STRAIGHT-OUT" POLICY.

Opposed to this policy was the "straight-out" policy—the nomination of entire democratic state and county tickets and the inauguration of a purely party struggle. This policy was advocated by a class of men the most conspicuous of whom are well known as men of extreme views, with strong proclivities towards violent methods and measures. It was openly advocated as the "Mississippi plan," and at the convention which adopted it General Ferguson, of Mississippi, appeared as an honored guest and filled the office of drill-master in the Mississippi tactics. This policy is properly termed in this state the "Edgefield" policy, and was also called by the editor of the Charleston News and Courier the "shot gun" policy. Of the practical details of this policy I shall speak hereafter.

This policy was adopted in the democratic state convention in August, and was followed by the nomination of a full democratic state ticket. It was adopted under influences and auspices, it was advocated by arguments, it has been carried out by methods and measures so exclusively and entirely partisan as to deprive the present democratic canvass of all just claims to be what you claim for it—"the struggle of the white people of South Carolina to cast off a burthen of corruption and wrong;" and to warrant me in declaring it to be a struggle by the democratic party of South Carolina to gain political control of the state for the sake of partisan power and advantage. The men who looked exclusively to reform, the arguments which promised the attainment of practical reform, the methods which are warranted by a desire for the public good, all were opposed to this policy. In saying this I am regarding the facts of the case without any reference to myself. The democratic party of South Carolina were under no political obligation to me, but if they wish to have their present claim respected—that they are moved by non-partisan motives in their present course—they were under obligation to adopt a policy which did not, as does their present policy, array race against race and party against party in a fierce struggle for political mastery.

DEMOCRATIC "PEACEFUL" AGENCIES.

I come now to your claim that in the present canvass all the methods and agencies employed by the democratic party are peaceful, orderly and within the law. In your communication you especially assure me that if I accept your invitation "my appearance before the democracy throughout the state will be to me as governor a most pleasing refutation of the slanderous charges which are constantly published against your party." My knowledge of the serious cast of your character forbids me to think that you are indulging in conscious satire or badinage in giving me this assurance. Without expressing any doubt of the good faith of your present assurance, I fear that your experience in attending republican meetings has been widely different from mine in republican meetings where your party have attended and demanded an equal hearing. I shall, therefore, first call your attention to my personal experience in this respect.

As I have already stated, during the months of July and August I made a canvass of a number of the counties of the state. The object of this canvass, which was conducted almost wholly under my own auspices, was, first, the advocacy of the election of Hayes and Wheeler, and, second, and more especially, a defense of my own course as governor and an appeal to the republican party to stand by the cause of reform in the coming state convention. It was not a general party canvass under party auspices. The meetings were called at my request or suggestion and for the purpose of hearing me upon the question chiefly of reform in the state.

MEETING AT EDGEFIELD.

Under these circumstances I went, on the 12th of August, to address a republican meeting at Edgefield court house. This meeting had been called by the chairman of the republican party of that county, at my instance, and as rumors had repeatedly reached me that the meeting was to be in some way interrupted by the democrats, I invited one or two republican speakers to accompany me. Hon. Robert Smalls, member of congress from that district, also accompanied me. We reached the court house at 9 o'clock in the forenoon. Almost immediately upon my arrival I found the town rapidly filling with mounted white men, who signalized their arrival in town by riding rapidly through the streets and uttering almost continuously the shout or cry which you must pardon me for describing by its familiar name, as the "rebel yell"—a sound to which my ears were well accustomed in Virginia twelve years ago. By 11 o'clock this crowd of mounted white men numbered, I judged, five or six hundred at least. Command of these men was apparently formally assumed at the public square by General M. C. Butler and General M. W. Gary, and they proceeded to the grove where a stand had been erected by the republican committee for the speakers. I should mention that at about 10 o'clock several white gentlemen had called at my hotel and asked that democratic speakers should be heard at our meeting. I answered that we had several republican speakers present who would require the whole day if they all spoke, but I suggested that these gentlemen should see the republican county chairman, and stated that I would personally consent to any arrangement they might make with him. The chairman being engaged in preparations for the meeting did not meet these gentlemen and no arrangement was made.

At 11 o'clock I left the hotel and proceeded to the grove. On arriving I found the mounted white men who had assembled in town, with a large number of other white men, occupying one entire half of the space around the stand, and one end of the stand already broken down by the white men who had crowded upon it. I stepped upon the stand

in company with Judge Mackey and Senator Cain, the republican county chairman. Simultaneously General Butler and General Gary mounted the stand with a number of their followers. The white men vociferously cheered General Butler and General Gary as they appeared upon the stand, and the speaking was actually opened by General Butler, who returned his thanks to his followers for their presence and their tribute to him. He was followed, in response to deafening calls from his party, by General Gary, who announced in emphatic and plain terms that they—he and his party—had come there to be heard, and that they should be heard; that the radical leaders had failed to make any arrangement for a division of the time in speaking, but that he and his friends should be heard, with or without our consent, and he added, with great significance of tone and manner, that "if any trouble took place in consequence the responsibility and consequences would be upon the radical leaders." During all this time no republican had been allowed to speak. A glance at the crowd of white men who by this time covered the stand and swarmed around nearly three sides of it, besides climbing into the trees above our heads, all, so far as I could observe, heavily armed with pistols, displayed in many instances on the front of their persons, and even held in their hands, convinced me that any attempt to refuse the demand made, or even to abandon the meeting, would result in collision and bloodshed between the parties. I therefore advised Senator Cain that we had no alternative but to yield to the demand, and after a moment's consultation I announced that we would divide the time, giving a half hour each to three speakers from each party. Senator Cain then proposed to call the meeting to order and to announce the speakers, but General Gary declared that they wanted no chairman, and accordingly I stepped forward, under these circumstances, to address the meeting. From the beginning to the end of my half hour I was interrupted by the crowd of white men with jeers and insults of every kind. Twice during my remarks the confusion and interruption was so complete that after vainly appealing to the crowd to allow me to be heard, General Butler had the decency to come forward and so far restore order as to barely permit me to resume my remarks. Of the whole half hour allotted to me I certainly was not permitted to occupy over twenty minutes with any remarks such as I should naturally have made on such an occasion. In truth I spoke under great constraint and a consciousness that any word might precipitate a bloody collision, which I had no means of preventing or controlling. I was denounced by voices from the crowd as a companion thief with McDevitt; was told I would never come to Edgefield again; was charged with getting up the Hamburg riot to kill the white people, excite the north and get United States troops to carry the election, and with a variety of other crimes of which these are but specimens.

I was followed by General Butler, who occupied his time without interruption. His speech was exceedingly violent and bitterly personal towards me, on account principally of my report of the Hamburg massacre. Judge Mackey followed General Butler and he in turn was followed by General Gary. Nearly the whole of General Gary's speech was directed against me. In bitterness and violence of personal abuse, I have certainly never heard or known its parallel. Nothing short of a verbatim report could give an idea of its character. His attacks were not confined to my official character, but extended to my personal life and affairs, with frequent threats against me personally in various contingencies.

Judge Mackey next occupied about fifteen or twenty minutes in replying to some of General Gary's personal charges against me, and he was followed by General Butler.

What I have now described occupied the time from a little after eleven until half-past 3—a fact which will give an idea of the time consumed by the interruptions of which I have spoken. At half-past 3 I left the grove in order to reach the Columbia train, at Pine House, the same evening, amidst a torrent of jeers and yells which continued to reach my ears without cessation until I had passed beyond the limits of the town. The meeting, though called and arranged for in every particular by the republicans, was at no time and in no sense under our control; only two of the six republican speakers from abroad who were present were permitted to speak at all, and under the pressure of the white men who crowded upon it the entire platform was brought to the ground before I left the scene. At this meeting the republicans were told in the most emphatic terms that the democrats had made up their minds to carry Edgefield county and that they would carry it; that their leaders would be held to account personally; that the white people must and should rule the county. The whole meeting may be justly described as a torrent of abuse of me personally, and an exhibition of force and threats designed to intimidate the colored voters and their leaders. After we had reached the train, at the several railroad stations in Edgefield county, a number of the armed and mounted men who had attended the meeting at the court house entered the car in which we sat, and, with rude and threatening manners, addressed their jeers and insults to General Smalls and myself, especially, warning us not to come to Edgefield again.

I will add that the foregoing account of the meeting at Edgefield has been made from written memoranda made by me while on my way to Columbia and after my arrival at home the same evening. Nothing has been overstated, though much that was disgraceful has necessarily been omitted in this description.

MEETING AT NEWBERRY.

On the 18th of August I visited Newberry court house, to address a republican mass meeting, called for the same purposes and under the same circumstances as the meeting at Edgefield court house, which I have described. I was accompanied by two republican speakers, Hon. S. L. Hoge, member of congress for that district, and Hon. J. K. Jillson, superintendent of education. On our arrival at the depot at Newberry, we were met by the republican county committee who informed us that the democrats were assembled in large force, mounted and armed in the Edgefield fashion, and had called for a "division of time" at our meeting. I conferred with the republican committee who were firmly convinced that if we refused the demand our meeting would

be attended and probably interrupted by the democrats, with imminent danger of bloodshed if any misadventure should occur. As the republicans were wholly unorganized for any purpose of resistance to physical aggression, we deemed it our duty either to abandon our meeting or consent to a division of time. We chose the latter alternative and proceeded to the place of meeting. At the stand we found the republicans occupying mainly the space in front and at one side nearest the platform, while the mounted white men deployed themselves in a continuous line, completely enveloping the republicans and the platform on all sides. The usual accompaniment of yells was not omitted. I addressed the meeting for an hour, and was followed by Colonel J. N. Lipscomb. His speech was bitterly personal in its character toward me and my friends who were present, and offensive in matter and manner. He constantly alluded and pointed to me and my friends as we sat upon the platform as "you fellows," or "them fellows;" declared in violent tones that we white leaders were to be individually held responsible hereafter, and, by way of illustration of his meaning, referred to the lynching of six colored men in May last, charged with the murder of the Harmons in Edgefield county, and declared that, "if he had been present, he would have taken Dr. Barker, the white coroner, and Mr. Richardson, the white sheriff, tied them between the niggers and given them the same fate." Judge Hoge spoke next, and was followed by Colonel D. Wyatt Aiken, the democratic candidate for congress in that district. I did not hear Colonel Aiken's speech, but all the reports of it which I received agreed in stating that it was of a similar tone to that of Colonel Lipscomb, though exceeding it in violence of personal denunciation and threats. I left the ground at 3 o'clock, in order to take the Columbia train, and I may mention, as my last experience at this meeting, that as I left the stand and reached the outer margin of the crowd I met a cordon of mounted white men, so closely "dressed," in military phrase, in ranks of two or three deep, that I was forced to request to be allowed to pass through and to wait until the ranks could be broken for my exit. Every mounted white man whom I observed was armed with one or two pistols.

MEETING AT ABBEVILLE.

At the date of the Newberry meeting I was under engagement to address a similar republican meeting at Abbeville court house on the 22d of August. On the return of Judge Hoge and Mr. Jillson from Newberry on the 19th of August, they strongly advised the abandonment of the meeting at Abbeville in view of their experience at Newberry, and especially on account of a violent and threatening harangue made at the depot at Newberry on the morning of the 19th, to a band of his partisans, by Colonel D. Wyatt Aiken. I replied that I should keep my engagement at Abbeville from a sense of imperative duty to my republican friends there. U willing to allow me to go alone, these gentlemen gallantly consented to accompany me on the 21st to Abbeville court house. On arriving at Abbeville, I found our republican friends, as at Newberry, firmly convinced that if we held our meeting prudence would compel us to allow the democrats to occupy half the time, and even then they were greatly apprehensive of trouble. An arrangement was accordingly entered into by which three speakers from each party were to take part in the meeting. At the hour appointed we proceeded to the place of meeting where we found the republicans assembled, after the manner of ordinary political meetings. As soon, however, as the republicans were assembled, companies of mounted white men, marching in martial order, and under the command of officers or persons who gave orders which were obeyed, began to pour over the hill in front of the stand and to take their places at the meeting. At this time I sat beside General McGowan, and we agreed in our estimate that there were from eight hundred to one thousand mounted white men present. They came, as I know from Edgefield county, and as I was informed, from Newberry, Anderson and Laurens counties, as well as from Abbeville county. When fully assembled they covered more than one-half the space around the stand, besides entirely encircling the whole meeting with mounted men. I spoke first. In the course of my speech, in response to loud and repeated cries from the white men, "how about Hamburg"? "Tell us about Hamburg," I replied, "yes, I will tell you about Hamburg," whereupon I saw a sudden crowding towards the stand by the mounted white men on my right, and heard distinctly the click of a considerable number of pistols. I was followed by Colonel D. Wyatt Aiken in a speech filled to overflowing with the spirit of intolerance and violence. With his thousand mounted and armed partisans cheering him on, he shouted to the five or six hundred colored republicans "if you want war you can have it—yes, war to the knife, and the knife to the hilt." With a thousand armed white men drinking in his words, he singled out one colored man in the crowd for special personal denunciation. Turning to me he charged me personally with complicity in sending arms clandestinely to Newberry to arm the blacks against the whites, with absolute falsehoods in relation to the Hamburg massacre and the calling for United States troops, and declared over and over that the white leaders must be held personally responsible for all future misgovernment by the republican party. Later in the day Mr. Jillson while speaking was so greatly interrupted by the white men that he was unable to make a connected speech or to pursue his intended line of argument. After the meeting was closed, and while the colored republicans were carrying a United States flag past the public square in the village, an effort was made by a party of mounted white men to snatch it from them, fifteen or twenty pistols were discharged in the air, and a general riot was thereby made imminent.

MEETING AT MIDWAY.

I attended a similar meeting at Midway, in Barnwell county, on the 24th of August, called by republicans, but attended by a large body of white democrats, who marched into the village on horseback, but who, on this occasion, dismounted before they reached the place of meeting. This meeting was addressed by two democratic speakers, both of whom alluded to and described me and the other republican speakers present as "buzzards,"

"plunderers," "adventurers," and "carrion crows." Major G. D. Tillman, the democratic candidate for congress in that district, made a speech rivalling in some respects the speech of General Gary at Edgefield. He charged that I shared the plunder with McDevitt; that I sought to shield him from arrest by giving information to him of the fact that I had issued requisitions for his return from Florida and Louisiana; that I pardoned Walker because I had shared with him in legislative "steals," and finally sssured his friends that within a few months I would either be "a fugitive from justice or wearing the striped suit of a convict in the penitentiary." These are but a few specimens from his speech. During the speech of Judge Hoge, who spoke later in the day, in consequence of a retort by the speaker to a white man who had repeatedly interrupted all the republican speakers with insulting remarks and questions, several pistols were drawn, violent threats were made against Judge Hoge, and a trial justice who was present rushed upon the stand to inform me that he could no longer restrain the white men, and for full twenty minutes the speaking was completely interrupted.

MEETING AT LANCASTER.

I went on the 30th of August to Lancaster court house to address a republican meeting similar in all respects to those I have already named. The same scene was repeated, several hundreds of mounted and armed white men, their leaders having previously demanded and been granted a division of the time for speaking, surrounding the entire republican audience. After two republican and two democratic speakers had been heard Hon. A. S. Wallace, member of congress from that district, took the platform, but after vainly endeavoring to obtain a hearing he was obliged to leave the stand without making a speech.

Nearly every fact and incident stated in the foregoing account of these meetings fell within my own personal knowledge. I have omitted many facts vouched for by perfectly trustworthy eye-witnesses, such as the repeated drawing of pistols on me behind my back and the threats against my life uttered by persons at too great a distance to be heard by me. At none of these meetings did I witness or know of a single disorderly act on the part of any republican, nor did I hear a word spoken by a republican speaker personally disrespectful to a democratic speaker. At each of these meetings the coolest and best informed republicans felt that the only alternatives were to abandon the meeting or to yield to the demands made by the democrats, unless we were willing to run the imminent hazards of violence and bloodshed. These meetings were, moreover, as you have observed, held at points widely asunder in our state and thus were evidently the result of a matured and well understood plan.

I now present these to you as an answer to your claim that all the methods of the democratic canvass are peaceful, orderly and within the law. I pronounce such a course of conduct as I have now described as an outrage upon free discussion, a mocking travesty of free speech, and a plain, palpable, systematic attempt to deter republicans from canvassing the state, and to overawe and put in physical fear peaceful citizens assembled to discuss political questions; and I submit the justness of this verdict to the candid judgment of all who respect individual rights or public order and peace.

DEMOCRATIC "BREAD AND BUTTER" PROSCRIPTION.

I now proceed to present another phase of the democratic canvass which bears upon your claim that all your methods are legitimate and within the law. I propose to present evidence of an authentic character to establish the fact that the democratic party has adopted and is carrying out a systematic plan of social and political proscription, with the set and avowed purpose of forcing men to vote contrary to their convictions and wishes.

As specimens of what may be called social proscription for political ends, I present the following language used by Colonel J. S. Cothran, of Abbeville, in the democratic convention in May last, as reported in the Charleston News and Courier of May 8, 1876. Colonel Cothran said:

"Many have joined that (the republican) party to their eternal disgrace, and they will never recover from it; no, sir, nor their children nor their children's children. [Cheers.] The very fact of their deserting their friends and their race is the best proof of their dishonesty. Fidelity is the best proof of honesty of soul, and he who has it not to his state and to his people is altogether dishonest."

In a democratic speech made at Walhalla, on the 4th of September, and reported in the Greenville Enterprise, of September 16, ex-Governor B. F. Perry used the following language:

"And here I would appeal to my democratic friends all over the state to stop all social intercourse with any man who is base enough to be a radical. Let him feel by your conduct toward him that the brand of infamy is on him and his children. This is the only way you can reach his black heart. Let him see that there is a moral pestilence around him which prevents all social contact with honorable men, and leaves him for patronage and society to his own chosen rogues and plunderers."

The Lancaster Ledger, of August 30, gives a report of a democratic meeting at Lancaster court house, at which the following resolution was "unanimously adopted:"

"Whereas several white citizens of Lancaster village and county have associated themselves with the negro radical party, and thereby turned against their own race and rendered themselves unworthy of social recognition by the Anglo-Saxon race; be it

"Resolved, That we, the democratic citizens of Lancaster village, pledge ourselves not to countenance them except only in business transactions, and that we also request our young men and boys in the village and county to carry out this resolve."

As another phase of the same system of political coercion I present the following from the editorial columns of the Charleston News and Courier of September:

"Preference, Not Proscription."

"The mechanics and working men of Charleston are true as steel, and will follow the standard of Hampton wherever it shall lead them. They have an organization of their own, known as the Workingmen's Democratic association, and are, with the ward clubs, doing good service in the canvass. At a meeting of the association, held on Thursday night, the following resolutions were unanimously adopted:

Resolved, That we, the members of the Workingmen's Democratic association, do hereby endorse the resolutions adopted at the last meeting of the sixth ward, and further, that we insist that democrats should no longer patronize republicans in trade or retain them in employment.

"Resolved, That we make it known to the public that we have in the workingmen's democratic association good, true, capable, able-bodied and willing-

hearted men, who are ready to answer to the calls of the executive committee to fill places of labor or trust.

"Resolved, That many of these men have been compelled for months to remain unemployed, and are ready and anxious to earn honestly the necessaries of life, and can and will, if the chance is offered, fill positions such as teamsters, truckmen, warehousemen, porters, shipping clerks, cotton samplers, railroad yard men, wharf and vessel men, laborers in factories, &c., &c., and in fact any position requiring muscle and brain.

"Resolved, That we believe that these men amongst us, with a fair education, are better capacitated to fill these situations than most of the republicans now thus occupied.

"Similar action has already been taken by ward clubs and by the Butler Guards. The claim is just. How shall we obtain and retain friends, in a campaign where every vote is important, if the democratic public persist in placing their supporters on the same footing? The line of preference, not proscription, must be drawn. Long enough have the people of South Carolina fed and clothed their political enemies and done good to those who hate them.

* * * * "What we advise is, that the average republican voter be made to understand that his personal interests require the success of the democratic candidates. You may argue with him for hours and make no impression. Even platforms and constitutional amendments will not satisfy him. For years he has seen that the democrats would spend money freely to obtain votes, but he has never seen that when he wanted work it made any difference whether he voted one way or another.

"We propose to change all that, and say to the republican voters: 'We shall, no matter what the inconvenience, employ those who are members of democratic clubs, and vote for Hampton, in preference to those who vote for Chamberlain and Elliott. We will give work to those who follow Hampton and go with us; and we will not give that work to those who, by their vots, seek to defeat, hurt and ruin us. They who vote with us are our friends, and we will take care of them. They who vote for the robber ticket are our enemies, and we will have nothing to do with them.'

"Let the democracy say this and act upon it, and every republican will have one good reason for hurrahing for Hampton for every dollar he expects to earn during the year. They will not all come over. We do not wish them to. Some should be left behind to mark the contrast between the reputable and well-to-do supporters of Hampton and the disreputable and out-at-elbows republican. Once convince the masses of the voters that the democracy, in town and country, are in earnest about this, and the fight is surely won.

"The cry will be raised, of course, that what we advise is 'intimidation.' If it be 'intimidation' to discriminate in favor of your associates and neighbors, and against ruthless or senseless adversaries, the radical press are welcome to it. * * * * * * * * *

"The more general the practice the greater will be the democratic majority. With a fair election we need at least ten thousand republican votes and there are at least fifty thousand employers of republican labor, who can get them and more by preference, not proscription."

And the following from the editorial columns of the same paper of September 12:

"Democratic Bondsmen of Radical Officeholders."

"Any citizen of Charleston who now becomes a bondsman for a radical official is a worse foe to the cause of good government than if he boldly voted the rascally radical ticket at every election. In voting with the radicals he would do no more than any negro who will pass muster as of full age can do equally well, and more frequently; but in becoming, in these days, a surety upon the official bond of a radical appointee, the responsible citizen brings property and position to the rescue of such fellows as Berney, and gives to the public enemy the means of securing officeholders who will faithfully do their dirty work and hinder the success of the democracy. * * * * *

"The opponents of the democratic party are the adventurers who live by stealing—whether their stealing takes the form of discounts and commissions, of bribes, or of exorbitant pay of worthless services. These adventurers require the aid of every officeholder in the state, and when they find one who will not be as unscrupulous as they are, or who will not use his official influence and patronage to cause the foul bird of radical victory to perch on their black banners, they require his removal and procure the appointment of some serviceable Berney who will be to them as clay in the hands of the potter. Straw bonds find scant favor in Washington. The Berney's and their kidney cannot qualify unless property holders will be their sureties, and such sureties, with rare exceptions, can be found among democrats alone. It is a patent truth, therefore, that the democrat who now becomes the bondsman of a radical official lends himself to the basest uses of radical wire-pullers of the Patterson-Bowen stamp, and throws the whole weight of his influence and means on the side of public debauchery and vice. * * * * *

"For those who thoughtlessly agreed to become the bondsmen of Berney, and have since seen their error and withdrawn their names, we have no harsh words; but there will be neither grace nor mercy for those who, knowing the character of the crisis, become the instruments of the brutal knaves whose aim is that perpetual power whose cornerstone is Afrerican dominion over the good people of the state."

And the following from the Chester Reporter of a recent date:

"Office-Holders."

"There is some excitement in Charleston on account of a statement recently made in one of the papers of that city that several democrats had become sureties on the official bond of one Berney, who has been selected by Hon. John Patterson for the office of postmaster of Charleston, in place of Bosemon, the present incumbent, who is a republican, but not zealous enough in the great work of "five years good stealing." This subject of becoming sureties on the bonds of radical officials is one which comes home to us here in Chester. Some of our best citizens have been and still are bondsmen for carpet baggers, whose occupation here is office-holding, and alienating the blacks against the whites. We submit the question whether, at a time like this, when the people are engaged in an earnest struggle to save their property from public robbers, those of our citizens who are sureties for these officials are not practically giving aid and comfort to the enemy? Let all democratic bondsmen of radical officials ponder the question."

Another phase of this system is disclosed by the following editorial article in the Marion Star, of September 27:

"Rent Neither Lands or Houses to Any One Who Votes the Radical Ticket."

"The above heading forms a part of a resolution which is being adopted generally by all the land-owners throughout the country, and is looked upon by the colored people as a hardship, a kind of persecution. A hardship it may apparently seem to them, as the farmer thus assumes the independence of asserting what class of laborers he will and he will not employ. It has taken him eight years to arrive at this independence, but the continued depreciation of his lands; the financial stagnation of the country; the high taxes that threaten confiscation, all have conspired to make him deelare that he will not longer harbor the agent of his misfortune. * * * * "We laud the plan, and think every farmer in the country should give it his hearty support. Let every farmer accept it, and the colored voters had as well butt against a brick wall as oppose it

"Farmers have tried moral suasion until the folly of that course has become self-evident, and now they come to the exercise of a legal right which can but produce the desired result. Adopt the plan and stick to it, and two years hence they will not need the support of such a resolution, for the colored voters will have felt the benign influences of good government, and will readily act with their employers. The manufacturers up north, who have their hundreds of employees, march up to the polls and vote their whole company as they see fit, and southern employers have the same right and should dare exercise it."

The following appeared in the Charleston News and Courier as part of the correspondence of the well known "Paysan," writing from the Fork of Edisto, under date of September 18:

"The following resolutions, adopted by the Easterlin's mill democratic club, are commended to the attention of the different clubs throughout the state. Similar resolutions have been adopted by the Willow township, Graham's and Bamberg clubs and no donbt by many other clubs in Orangeburg and Barnwell counties. It is intended that the names

of the obnoxious leaders in each township be sent to the different clubs throughout the county.

"1. Resolved, That we will not rent land to any radical leader, or any member of his family, or furnish a home, or give employment to any such leader or any member of his family.

"2. That we will not furnish any such leader, or any member of his family, any supplies, such as provisions, farm implements, stock, &c., except so far as contracts for the present year are concerned.

"3. That we will not purchase any thing any radical leader or any member of his family may offer for sale, or sell any such leader or any member of his family anything whatever.

"4. That the names of such persons, who may be considered leaders, be furnished to this club at the earliest date, and that a list of the same be furnished each member of the club.

"5. That whenever any person or persons who shall be denominated radical leaders by a vote of this club shall cease as such, these resolutions shall become null and void so far as such leader or leaders, or any member of his or their families, are concerned.

"6. That we will protect all persons in the right to vote for the candidates of their choice.

"7. That these resolutions be published, and that all the democratic clubs in the county and throughout the state are hereby requested to adopt them."

The following resolutions, published in the Columbia Register, of September 28, were "unanimously adopted" by the democratic club of ward 3 in the city of Columbia, and I notice that the same meeting of the club was addressed, among others, by yourself:

"Resolved, That it is the sense of this club that the time has come when we must distinguish our friends from our foes; that we must manfully show our preferences in the employment of and in the trading with those who support the grand movement of reform and honest government to those who are endeavoring to foist upon us the same corrupt and dishonest administration that for eight years has had no object but the degradation of the name of South Carolina and the personal aggrandizement of the carpet-baggers and a few renegades.

"Resolved, That rumors being current in the city that certain merchants in this ward are going to show their preference for the present administration on the 7th of November next, that the president of this club do appoint a committee of three or five, the duty of this committee being to present the roll to every man in the ward for signatures, thereby giving to each one the opportunity of vindicating himself, and at the same time enabling the honest laborers for reform to discriminate between friends and foes, and that they report at the earliest possible time.

"Resolved, That this resolution shall apply equally forcible to porters about stores and offices, carpenters, mechanics, barbers, butchers, hack drivers, and, in fact, to every one who receives wages from the honest citizens of this ward."

In the Charleston News and Courier, of August 7, in an account of the county democratic convention of Aiken county, it is stated that a resolution was adopted by the convention "recommending the people of the county to employ no one who refused to vote the ticket put forward by the state democratic convention."

The foregoing examples, selected from a vast mass of similar evidences, are presented here as proof of the fact already alleged—that the democratic party has adopted and is carrying out a systematic plan of social and political proscription with the set and avowed purpose of forcing men to vote contrary to their convictions and wishes.

It is within the knowledge of every man who is acquainted with the present condition of the state that the written and formal statements of the plans of political coercion convey a very faint idea of the actual practice of your party. Prudence and good policy in a majority of instances dictate the concealment of such plans, and the instances now cited of open avowals of the purpose of political coercion are for that reason the more startling proofs of the spirit in which the system has its origin. The advertising columns of the Charleston News and Courier, and the local columns of other democratic newspapers in this state, furnish constant examples that the published evidences which I have cited fall far short of representing the extent of the system which they disclose.

I now call your attention to the following sections of the revised statutes of this state:

"If at any election, as in the eighteenth section of this chapter is mentioned, any person shall offer or propose to procure another, by the payment, delivery or promise of money, or other articles of value, to vote for or against any particular candidate or measure, or shall offer, for the consideration of money or other articles of value paid, delivered or promised, to vote for or against any particular candidate or measure, such person so offering to procure or vote shall be deemed guilty of a misdemeanor, and, upon conviction thereof, shall be fined and imprisoned at the discretion of the court."—Chapter CXXXI, Section 20, page 727.

"If any person shall, at any of the elections in any city, town, ward, or polling precinct, threaten, maltreat or abuse any voter, with a view to control or intimidate him in the free exercise of his right of suffrage, such offender shall suffer fine and imprisonment at the discretion of the court."—Chapter CXXXI, Section 24, page 728.

"Whoever shall assault or intimidate any citizen because of political opinions or the exercise of political rights and privileges guaranteed to every citizen of the United States by the constitution and laws thereof, or by the constitution and laws of this state, or for such reason discharge such citizen from employment or occupation, or eject such citizen from rented house or land or other property, such person shall be deemed guilty of a misdemeanor." * * *—Chapter CXXXI, Section 26, page 728.

I am now prepared to pronounce the system which I have set forth, and which constitutes a prominent part of the democratic canvass, a plain infringement of moral and social right, and a clear violation, in its most prominent features, of the laws of the state.

DEMOCRATIC RIFLE CLUBS.

I next call your attention to another state of facts bearing upon your claim that the present democratic canvass is conducted by agencies which are peaceful and within the law. I refer now to the armed organizations which go under the names of "rifle clubs," "sabre clubs" and "artillery clubs." Of the exact extent of these organizations your information is doubtless much more ample than mine; but I think I am warranted in saying that such organizations exist in every county in the state, and that in many, if not most, of the counties they embrace a large majority of the white men between the ordinary limits of age for military duty, as well as a large number both below and above such limits. That these organizations are armed, officered, drilled to a considerable extent at least in the manual and military movements appropriate to the character of their arms and organizations, and obey the orders of their officers, is clear in many cases, and is probably true in all cases. That they have appeared in public on a num-

ber of occasions in various parts of the state, and recently here in Columbia, with their arms and under command of their officers, is well known. That they serve as the basis of political organization, and under the command and control of their officers engage in political duties and work, is equally clear. In fact, a leading feature of the present democratic state canvass is the constant attendance upon the democratic meetings of these clubs, acting in their organized character and capacity. In no instance of such clubs organized since December 1, 1874, has authority for their formation or existence been given by the governor, nor are any such organizations reported to him officially or in any manner authorized or recognized by him as forming any part of the military force of the state. The existence of a few military clubs organized for professedly social purposes, many months since, was made known to the governor; but aside from these cases the whole system of military organization now referred to has no official sanction or recognition from the governor of the state. So long as these organizations retained their character as social clubs little importance was naturally attached to the question of their legality. Recent and present events, however, and the use now made of these organizations as a prominent agency in the democratic canvass, give public importance to their character.

I now call your attention to the following extract from the revised statutes of the state:

"That the organized militia of this state shall be known as the national guard of the state of South Carolina, and shall consist of such divisions, brigades, regiments and battalions, and in addition thereto, such batteries of light artillery, and troops and squadrons of cavalry as the commander-in-chief may deem expedient, and nothing herein contained shall be so construed as to interfere with the power of the commander-in-chief, in case of war or insurrection, or of imminent danger thereof, to order drafts of the militia, and to form new regiments, battalions, brigades or divisions, as he may deem just and proper: Provided, That there shall be no military organizations, or formations for the purpose of arming, drilling, exercising the manual of arms, or military manœuvers, not authorized under this chapter and by the commander-in-chief, and any neglect or violation of the provisions of this section shall upon conviction be punished with imprisonment at hard labor in the state penitentiary for a term not less than one year, nor more than three years, at the discretion of a competent court."—Title IV, chapter XV, section 14, page 102.

The organizations to which I call your attention are now seen to be organizations not only not authorized by the law but forbidden by the law. But their organization is not more illegal than their objects. Those objects are disclosed by their conduct and are no more doubtful than the fact of their existence. The incidents of the present canvass which I have already stated, and others which I shall hereafter state, show the use that is made of these organizations. As a fair statement of the objects of these organizations as well as the testimony of an experienced and well known observer in the south, I present an extract from a letter of H. V. Redfield, published in the Cincinnati Commercial, and reproduced in the Charleston News and Courier of September 19.

"True Inwardness."

The outsider is apt to be puzzled by accounts of affairs here. He may not understand the formation of "rifle clubs," "rifle teams," "artillery companies," among the whites. What are they afraid of? They are not afraid of anything. Why, then, this arming? They intend to carry this election, if it is possible to do so. The programme to have "rifle clubs" all over the state, and, while avoiding actual bloodshed as much as possible, to so impress the blacks that they, or a number of them, will feel impelled to vote with the whites out of actual fear. The blacks are timid by nature, timid by habit, timid by education. A display of force unnerves them. The whites understand this, and an immense marching about at night, and appearance at any republican meeting to "divide time" is with a view to impress the blacks with the sense of danger of longer holding out against white rule. Add to the number they can scare, the number they can buy, and they hope to have enough, united with the solid white vote, to gain the day, elect Hampton and secure the legislature.

Thus the objects and the conduct of these "clubs" are shown to be as illegal as their organization. In organization, in objects, in conduct, they are neither peaceful nor orderly, nor within the law. And yet they are perhaps the most prominent method and agency employed by your party in this canvass.

INSTANCES OF ACTUAL VIOLENCE.

I proceed now to direct your attention to some other occurrences in our state which have a relation to the present canvass, and especially to your claim that all your methods are peaceful, orderly and within the law.

THE HAMBURG MASSACRE.

The massacre at Hamburg occurred July 8, a month prior to the opening of the democratic canvass. I will state some of the undisputed facts of this massacre. Those who committed the massacre were white democrats; those who were massacred were colored republicans. Passing over all that occurred before the time when all resistance or show of resistance to the white democrats had ceased, it is a fact, as well authenticated and undeniable as the assassination of President Lincoln, that five unarmed republicans, while held as captives by a large body of armed white democrats, were deliberately and wantonly shot to death by their white democratic captors. If the facts of the riot were admitted to show that both parties were equally responsible for its origin and equally engaged in its progress from beginning to end, the unimpeachable fact would remain that five colored republicans, after the riot was ended, were butchered by a band of white democrats. Intention and motive, when not expressed in language, must be judged of by acts and circumstances. Applying this test to the Hamburg massacre, the conclusion seems to be that color and political party had much to do in prompting the massacre. It is significant, too, that the massacre occurred in a section of our state in which the present "straight-out" democratic canvass took its rise, and where were found its most efficient promoters in all its earlier stages. It is in vain to seek to evade the just and awful responsibility for these murders by asserting that the colored republicans at Hamburg had maltreated, insulted and exasperated the white democrats beyond the point of endurance.

If this be conceded, the fact remains that the five colored republicans who were butchered, together with their companions, were

completely overcome and in the complete custody of the white democrats who butchered them. One of your democratic orators has sought to cover this vast crime with the plea of Mr. Burke for the American colonists—"I pardon something to the spirit of liberty." But the American colonists needed no advocate to acquit them of wholesale murders, nor did Mr. Burke sully his lips with the atrocious plea that wanton butchery of unresisting prisoners could be condoned when committed in the name of liberty.

THE CHARLESTON RIOT.

On the night of September 6th a riot occurred in the city of Charleston. The most trustworthy information seems to fix the chief responsibility for causing this riot upon the republicans. Certainly such is my present belief. The riot continued for some hours, and greatly endangered the lives and property of the citizens of Charleston. It was inexcusable and disgraceful. But it was subdued by the republican authorities; it was attended by no slaughter; it was followed by no butchery. It is now, as I am credibly informed, an open secret that the one man who died from wounds received in this riot declared by his dying declaration that he received his wound from a misdirected shot from the pistol of a democratic friend, and that the single policeman who was seriously wounded, suffered from the same cause. The riot was the result of high political excitement, and was an exhibition of the dastardly spirit of political intolerance. It has fastened a bloody blot on the party that caused it.

THE ELLENTON RIOT.

And now contrasting the methods and circumstances and results of this riot with the Hamburg riot, I ask your attention to a more recent occurrence which is called the Ellenton riot. Though this riot occurred chiefly on the 16th of September and the three or four days following, it has been impossible up to the present time to obtain a full and connected report of its origin and course. Certain general facts and some specific details are, however, known. Its origin was an assault upon a white woman in the course of an attempted robbery of her house by two negroes. One of the alleged robbers was arrested, and, while in the custody of his captors, was shot. Out of these occurrences grew the riot. Of the conduct of the colored people engaged in or connected with the riot, I will not speak with confidence, lest my present information should be found to give a too favorable account. It is certain that a force of armed white men was speedily assembled from the surrounding country from a distance of thirty miles and more.

On the 18th and 19th this force amounted to not less than six or eight hundred men, all armed, under officers, company and general, but assembled by no lawful authority, and acting under no lawful orders. On the morning of the 19th the arrival upon the scene of a company of United States troops caused the dispersing of these rioters. The results of this riot are stated by General Johnson Hagood, one of the nominees on your state ticket, to be two white men and about thirty colored men killed. My other information reduces the white men killed to one, and increases the number of colored men killed to forty or fifty. That nearly all the colored men killed were not killed while resisting the execution of the law or any legal process, or while violating the peace or threatening or attempting any violence, is a fact established by clear proof. They were shot down wherever found; in fields and woods, on highways and in cabins, along the railroad track and at the railroad stations.

I give you an account of the murder of Simon P. Coker, a member of the present legislature and a delegate to the recent republican convention in Columbia, as related to me by an intelligent and trustworthy eye-witness of the scene, a person well known to me personally. While sitting in the car of the railroad train at Ellenton, on the 19th ultimo, my informant saw Coker walking unarmed in company with several armed white men. Coker's manner indicated that he did not consider himself a prisoner or in danger, as he was talking freely with the white men who accompanied him. Coker and those who accompanied him proceeded to a piazza in front of a store at Ellenton station and sat down for a few moments, but soon proceeded to a large tree standing about thirty rods from the spot where my informant stood, Coker still appearing unconcerned. While standing under this tree the white men suddenly stepped away from Coker about six paces, and, turning, fired a volley into his body. He instantly fell, whereupon several of the party advanced towards his body and fired upon it a second time. My informant also mentions as a fact that he saw N. A. Patterson, a democratic trial justice of Barnwell county, walking in company with Coker at Ellenton station at the time first above stated. Coker, it now appears, had been enticed from his home to Ellenton upon some false pretense of a summons to answer a criminal charge.

The killing of colored people in connection with the Ellenton riot extended far and wide, and was kept up for several days. In truth, my information leads me to believe that it cannot be said to have ceased now. Persons living in the vicinities named vouch to me personally for the truth of these, among many other, instances of murders of colored men in Barnwell county, growing out of the Ellenton riot.

On the 24th of September several colored men were picking cotton near Elko, among whom were two refugees from the vicinity of Ellenton. Eight or ten white men rode into the field and fired upon these refugees, killing one and wounding the other. The dead body was carried and thrown into a swamp, where it was found on the 25th by Trial Justice Black, of Blackville, and Captain Kenzie, of the United States garrison at Blackville.

On the night of the 24th, a party of white men visited the house of a colored man about seven miles from Blackville, and took out a colored man who was a refugee from near Ellenton. This refugee has not been seen or heard of since.

On Sunday, September 24th, two colored men escaping from the vicinity of Ellenton passed a church near Allendale while the white people were at church. They were pursued by white men from the church, and overtaken at the cabin of a colored man at early evening. One was shot and died of his wounds at 9 o'clock that night, and the other, though wounded, escaped.

These are but a few of the outrages which I fully believe have been committed by white democrats, members of democratic rifle clubs, upon colored republicans in Barnwell county alone. More than forty colored and white refugees are reported to me as under the protection of the United States troops in their camp at Blackville at this time.

I present these facts to you as a portion of the evidence now in my hands and within my knowledge, which refutes your claim that the methods and agencies now employed by the democratic party are peaceful, orderly and within the law.

The present armed organizations which constitute the effective force of the democratic party, as well as its chief agency in its canvass, are manifestly a menace to the peace of the state and the rights of the members of the republican party, because those organizations are unlawful in their origin, unlawful in their aims, and aggressive and law-breaking in their conduct.

DEMOCRATIC "PROTECTION."

I come now to your demand that if I believe that lawlessness and terrorism prevail in the state I should call upon you and your party to suppress it, before I appeal to the government of the United States. I am familiar with this demand. I have heard it here and have heard it abroad. It is made the occasion of constant reproach that I am governor of the state and yet cannot and do not preserve the public peace. General Hampton and his followers are seeking to profit politically by uttering this reproach and declaring their easy ability to maintain the peace of the state. I shall answer your demand with perfect plainness of speech. The reason I cannot and do not maintain the peace of the state and suppress lawlessness and prevent terrorism, is solely because the democratic party are the authors of the disturbances of the peace, the lawlessness and terrorism which they now reproach me with and demand that I shall allow or invite them to suppress. *Quis custodes custodiet?*

To entrust the protection of those who are to-day endangered by the present disturbances to the armed, mounted, unlawful, democratic rifle clubs, would, in my sober judgment, be as unnatural and unfaithful in me as to set kites to watch doves, or wolves to guard sheep.

Actual lawlessness is, in my judgment, and upon the evidence before me, prevalent to-day in several counties and sections of the state, and I believe, upon the best attainable evidence, that it has already resulted in the killing of from forty to fifty defenseless and unresisting republican voters. Terrorism, resulting from lawlessness and violence, extends far more widely; and in support of this statement, I repeat here the remark made to me two days since by a white democrat who had crossed the country from the vicinity of Robbins' station, through Barnwell county to Blackville, that "he did not see a 'nigger' man anywhere." But when, in view of this lawlessness and terrorism, you and your associates mock me with the demand to put it down by calling on the white armed democrats who are the authors of it, I answer that you are welcome to the political advantage such a demand may give you, but I shall yield to no such demand so long as I hold the office of governor.

You know, as I know, that the republican voters of this state are not organized for successful resistance to the aggressions of the democratic rifle clubs. You know, as I know, that to call upon the colored republicans alone to suppress this lawlessness and terrorism would be to invite or precipitate a conflict the result of which would be to increase, rather than suppress, the lawlessness and terrorism which now exist. In such an emergency my only reliance for effective physical force must be upon United States troops. I have struggled long and hard to avoid a resort to this agency. I have hoped against hope that a sober second thought would come to those who govern the democratic party strong enough and just enough to relieve me from the necessity of action which must inflict great temporary injury upon the material interests of the state. But I am invested with large and extraordinary powers by the laws of the state to meet extraordinary emergencies. The executive of the United States will do his duty, and I shall do mine; and it shall be seen by the world whether the right to a peaceful and free ballot by the citizens of this state, conferred and made inviolable by the constitution and laws of state and nation alike can be trampled under foot by any combination or party of men in this state. The people of this state know that I am not a rash or unjust man, that I am tender of every private and public interest and right; but they know also that I am accustomed to doing my duty, without haste but without fear.

I have doubtless wearied you, sir—I certainly have wearied myself—in setting forth the various matters which were essential to my reply to your communication. The statements of facts herein made all rest upon actual evidence now before me, the sources of which I should have here stated if I had not been compelled, in order to secure the evidence, to give a solemn promise, in many instances, not to make known the sources.

In conclusion, I have only to renew my acknowledgments for the respectful form of your communication, and to express the hope that I have followed your example in that regard, and that the peace and prosperity of South Carolina may be speedily restored and perpetually maintained.

I have the honor to be, very respectfully your obedient servant,

DANIEL H. CHAMBERLAIN,
Governor of South Carolina.

Platform of the Republican Party of South Carolina, Adopted by the Republican State Convention at Columbia, September 14, 1876.

1. The republican party of the state of South Carolina, in convention assembled, believing that the principles of equal civil and political rights are vital to the interests of good government, and that they can only be enforced by the party which has engrafted them upon the state and national constitutions, hereby reaffirms its confidence in the national republican party by pledging firm adherence to the platform adopted by the

Cincinnati convention in this the one hundredth year of American independence.

2 We hereby pledge our undiveded support to the standard bearers of that party, Rutherford B. Hayes and William A. Wheeler, whose unblemished and statesmanlike record in the past is sufficient assurance that all reforms lying within the province of their respective offices will be earnestly prosecuted and the national government wisely and economically administered, with due regard to the rights and interests of the whole American people.

3. We heartily endorse the administration of President Grant, so honestly and economically conducted as to exalt the nation in the estimation of the world and advance its faith and credit. We recognize in the soldier, statesman and president a firm, devoted lover of American liberty, a stern, unflinching champion and protector of the rights of American citizens at home and abroad, and we will ever hold in grateful remembrance his deeds in war, in peace, in all that makes our country great--though the youngest of the nations yet the equal of all.

4. That in presenting to the people of South Carolina our nominees for the high offices of the state for the coming two years, we believe we should make plain and unmistakable the aims and principles to which we stand pledged in the event of their election; not in glittering generalities of reform, but in specific and substantial articles.

5. We declare our abhorrence and repudiation of all forms of violence, intimidation or fraud in the conduct of elections, or for political purposes, and denounce the same as crime against the liberty of American citizens as well as the common rights of humanity; and, while we insist upon and will jealously guard the right of every citizen freely to choose his political party, and deny the unfounded charge that the republican party countenances any interference with colored voters who may choose to vote the democratic ticket, we protest against and denounce the practice now inaugurated by the democratic party in this state of attending republican meetings and by show of force and other forms of intimidation disturbing such meetings or taking part therein without the consent or invitation of the party calling them.

6. We pledge ourselves to thorough reform in all departments of the state government, where abuses shall be found to exist, and, as an earnest of the same, declare our purpose of submitting to the qualified voters of the state the following specific reforms as amendments to the state constitution.

I. That the present adjustment of the bonded debt of the state shall be inviolable.

II. That the general assembly shall meet only once in every two years, and that the length of no session thereof shall exceed seventy days.

III. That the number of sessions of courts of general sessions and common pleas shall be reduced to two annually in each county, with power reserved to the judges to call special sessions when necessary.

IV. That the veto power of the governor shall be so modified as to allow of the disapproval of a part without effect upon the rest of an act.

V. That agricultural interests shall be relieved from burdensome taxation by a more equitable distribution of taxes and by the inauguration of a system of licenses fixed upon fair principles.

VI. That no public funds shall ever be used for the support of sectarian institutions.

VII. That the enormous evil of local and special legislation shall be prohibited whenever private interests can be protected under general laws.

VIII. And inasmuch as the system of free schools was created in the state by the republican party, and should be especially fostered and protected by it, we pledge ourselves to the support of the amendments to the state constitution, now before the people, establishing a permanent tax for the support of free schools, and preventing the removal of school funds from the counties where raised.

7. We pledge ourselves and the nominees of the republican party of this state to the securing of the following purposes by legislative enactment:

I. The further and lowest reduction of salaries of all public servants consistent with the necessities of the government.

II. The reduction of fees and costs, especially of attorneys in civil cases, and the amendment of the laws governing the settlement of estates in such manner as to secure a more economical administration and settlement of small estates.

III. The immediate repeal of the agricultural lien law.

IV. Public printing to be reduced at least one-third of the present appropriation.

V. Convict labor to be utilized under such laws as shall secure humane treatment, and the support of convicts without needless expense to the state.

VI. The annual appropriations for public institutions to be economically made and properly expended.

VII. The number of trial justices to be reduced throughout the state, and each justice to be assigned to specific territory, with moderate salaries to cover costs of criminal business, adjusted in proportion to populations.

8. Recognizing the enormous expense of fencing farms, and the scarcity of timber in some sections of the state, we feel it to be necessary that practical relief be afforded to the people of the state, and we pledge ourselves to secure such legislation upon the subject as will give to the electors of each county the right to regulate this question for themselves.

9. That whereas in some of the upper counties of the state certain evil disposed persons have induced many citizens to disregard and violate the revenue laws of the United States, by representing them to be oppressive, and in violation of the rights of the citizen, and it is apparent from the action of the national democratic house of representatives that the revenue tax will be continued, we therefore earnestly recommend that his excellency, the president of the United States, do grant a general amnesty and pardon for all violations previous to this time. And the senators are hereby instructed, and the representatives in congress are requested, to urge this action without delay.

10. We charge the democratic party with perversion of all truth and history; with opposition to all the interests of the masses;

with fostering class preferences and discriminations; with a denial of rights to those who do not accept their political dogmas; with constant and persistent antagonism to the principles of justice and humanity; with a resistance to the manifest will of the people and spirit of the age; with a determination to make slavery national and liberty sectional; with a purpose to rend the union in twain to perpetuate human bondage; with plunging the nation into a fratricidal war; with deluging the land in blood and filling it with sorrow and distress; with burdening the people with a debt that makes a higher taxation necessary and continuous; with opposition to the reconstruction of the states they had violently forced into a confederacy; with resistance to the passage and ratification of the amendments to the constitution of the United States made necessary by the results of the war, which clothed the humblest in the nation with citizenship and placed in his hands the power of protecting it; with a purpose to reopen sectional prejudices and animosities, to make "the war a failure," reconstruction "void" and the amendments to the constitution nullities; with deception, misrepresentation, extravagance in the conduct of government, dishonesty in the disbursement of the public funds and an abuse of the public confidence; with fraud in the management of elections; with intimidations of electors; with atrocities during political campaigns unheard of in civilized communities; with assassinations and murders of those whose only offending was a steadfast adherence to the principles of the republican party; with threatenings of violence and death against those who advocate the perpetuity of the republican party, with armed preparation and hostile intent in the states of the south, intending by such a formidable array to frighten or force republicans into a support of their party and partisans, or to remain away from the polls; with dissembling to the north by assurances of an acceptance of the results of the war a desire for reconciliation and brotherly relations, when they are only thirsting for the opportunity to secure what they have lost by the ascendency of the national democratic party to power and thus inflict upon the nation further evils and embarrassments; with nominating national and state officers known for their antagonism to all the republican party has accomplished.

11. Reiterating our reliance in the justice of our cause and the truth of the principles underlying our national platform, and of the thirteenth, fourteenth and fifteenth amendments of the constitution of the United States, pointing with gratification to the many important reforms established by the republican party of our state during the last few years, we invoke the guidance and blessing of divine Providence upon our standard bearers and upon the whole people of South Carolina. And we the members of the republican party, in convention assembled, do hereby earnestly pledge ourselves to an uncompromising support of its nominees, with the firm hope and the solemn determination to guard our rights, protect our friends and elect our candidates.

Governor Chamberlain's Speech of Acceptance.

Upon accepting the nomination of the republican convention as their candidate for governor, Mr. Chamberlain spoke as follows:

MR. PRESIDENT AND GENTLEMEN OF THE CONVENTION: Victory is always joyful, but there are some occasions which bring with them a sense of responsibility greater than that of joy. Such an occasion is the present one to me. And yet I know that I owe my profound gratitude to this convention; to my friends who have cast their votes for me in this convention, for the great honor that has been done me. This victory is doubly joyful to me, because I know that it has not been obtained by any of those processes or influences which have been said at times to control republican conventions in South Carolina. The men who have supported me are no band of mercenaries, but a gallant, devoted, patriotic company of republicans of South Carolina, [cheers,] who have believed that I represented certain principles, certain aspirations and certain purposes of the great republican party of this state, which could be carried into practice through my agency better than that of other men offered for your consideration as candidates.

In that spirit I accept your nomination. [Cheers.] I accept it, first of all, as the nomination of a republican convention. I accept it as a republican. I accept it as one who believes in all the cardinal, substantial principles of the republican party, which have been proclaimed and carried into practice during the history of the last twenty years of this nation. I am bound to that party by ties than which none could be stronger; by force of early association and of late; by force of early precepts and later convictions; by a constant and unbroken identification for twenty years with the organization of the republican party.

On this occasion I desire to say, not that I deem it necessary that I should again assert my republicanism, but I desire to say that I know of no point, of no policy, of no principle on which I am not in entire harmony with the republican party throughout the nation as represented by Governor Hayes and his letter of acceptance. That party, fellow-citizens, I regard as the hope and strength not only of the nation, but of South Carolina. I profess to have at heart the peace and welfare of all the citizens of South Carolina, and I am a republican to-day, and I seek the success of the republican party in South Carolina, not only that the colored race of South Carolina may remain free, but that the white race may be made free; for nothing has been impressed upon me during the last month with greater force than the fact that the democratic party of South Carolina is to-day holding its control over the white masses of South Carolina by influences and force that may be rightly described as constituting the grossest political slavery. [Cheers.] I want the principles of the republican party to triumph in South Carolina, so that the white man who chooses to ally himself with that party may no longer be branded with social ostracism or be subjected to any burden which is not borne by all his fellow-citizens.

I desire the success of the republican party, also, because I believe in their hands alone are the great results of the last twenty years of American history secure. I am not ready to-day to put those results into the hands of a party which never until to-day acknowledged and accepted them, and now accepts them not

as honorable, desirable and good results in themselves, but simply as accomplished facts which cannot be reversed. We accept them, fellow-citizens, as the crowning triumph of the principles upon which the American republic is founded. We accept all these results not as accomplished facts merely, but as the logical results of a faithful carrying out of the principles upon which the American government is founded. We stand upon the great doctrine which heralded the advent of the American people among the nations of the earth that all men are created equal and endowed with the inalienable right of liberty. We have planted the whole American republic at last upon the doctrine proclaimed thus early, but under the leadership and influence of the democratic party so long denied, that equal and exact justice belongs to every man on American soil and under the protection of the American flag, without regard to race, condition or color. It is to keep these results then in the friendly hands which have wrought them and not to trust them to unfriendly hands that opposed them, that the republican party girds itself up for this final contest for the perpetuity of its principles. [Cheers.]

But I accept this nomination as significant of another thing. I accept it as signifinant of the desire of the republican party of South Carolina for the continuance, for a higher degree, for a more complete carrying out of the reforms demanded by the present condition of our public affairs. I accept it, fellow-citizens, in this sense with peculiar joy, because it has been my fortune for two years to have been conspicuous in the contest which has gone on here in behalf of what we may call administrative reform and good government.

Fellow-citizens, I have always had a profound confidence in the desire of the common people of South Carolina for good government. I have seen occasions when those who have been reared as republicans, taught to believe that universal suffrage was safe because it was right, have faltered in their confidence in the success of this people in bringing about good government in South Carolina. But I can say for myself that my confidence in their capacity has never been lost, and I have believed, through all the mismanagement, corruptions and wrongs of their leaders, that the colored people, the colored masses of South Carolina, were as loyal as any people in their hearts to the demands and necessity of good government in South Carolina. [Cheers.] It is in that spirit that I have occupied the last two months in visiting the counties of this state in order that I might speak to the people, not only in behalf of the principles of republicanism, but especially in behalf of the principles and policy of reform in South Carolina.

And let me say here, on no occasion have I found the people failing in their real and sincere desire that good government should be restored and made permanent and effective in South Carolina. The result of this convention, in my judgment, in selecting me as the nominee for governor is due to the spirit of the people in South Carolina more than to the spirit of the leaders of the republican party. The people of South Carolina have believed that in the contest of the last two years I have represented faithfully the principles and the idea of reform, and their voice has been heard in this convention, and without any of the appliances or influences which have characterized former conventions, they have stood under the fire of the most vigorous assaults and have declared their purpose that through me, and those you associate with me on this ticket, the great cause of reform should go forward until every burden that oppresses this people should be put away forever. I accept this nomination, therefore, as an endorsement of my conduct upon the subject of reform. If I could not regard it as an endorsement of my administration I could not accept it, because I have no purpese in occupying public position in South Carolina, except that I may be instrumental in putting the republican party upon a platform that will cause it to commaud the respect and confidence of the nation. [Loud cheering.]

You know how little, comparatively, has yet been done in this great work of reform in the last two years, but enough has been done to point the way and to encourage us to future efforts. Taxes have been reduced; a higher tone among public officials has been introduced; the judicial bench has been saved from pollution; public moneys have been honestly disbursed; official accountability has been established; and now, upon the basis of what has been done, it remains for us, in the spirit of the platform now adopted, to go forward devoted to the idea of reform as something that is due to all the people of the state, and devoted to it because it is the only hope and only possibility of success, permanently or presently, for any political party in South Carolina. [Cheers.]

Mr. President and gentlemen, I might pause here, but I think it is due to the position which I hold towards the coming campaign that I should seek to impress upon you the necessity of completing your work in the spirit in which it has been begun. If you have nominated me to represent the reforms which have been inaugurated during the last two years; if your nomination is an endorsement to any extent of my administration, then you are bound to see to it that the ticket that is to be associated with me shall be a ticket in harmony with those principles and those purposes. [Cheers.] I confess to you frankly that it will be a difficult question for me to determine, if I am not surrounded by those whose sympathy and support I can enjoy, whether it will be worth while for me to enter upon this campaign. I am not willing to admit, and do not, that you will fail to carry out the work you have begun in the spirit in which you have begun it. Put upon this ticket none but honorable, honest and competent republicans. Fill every office upon this ticket in a manner that shall strengthen the nomination which you have already made. [Cheers.]

I cannot of course enter into details, but you cannot mistake, in the issues which will come before you, the meaning of my words when I say that if this ticket, at the head of which you have placed me, is to win, it must be made up of those who are in harmony with the principles and policy which I represent; and not only that but hereafter, when the other local conventions of the republican party shall be assembled, and especially when you come to make up your legislative tickets, above all things don't place before me again

the task which I have borne during the last two years of standing for the cause of reform against a legislature the majority of whom were not in sympathy with me. [Cheers.]

It is a thankless task, an almost fruitless task, for the executive to undertake to carry out the platform of a party unless he is supported by the legislature. If I am not mistaken, therefore, in my interpretation of your purpose in selecting me, I am certainly justified in calling upon you in all your subsequent nominations to select those who represent the cause of reform, who have opinions which they will stand up for even at the expense of immediate popularity; men who are willing to give advice or take action which may not be agreeable even to their own party. I have but little respect for political life or political men if we have not arrived at such a position that we are able to go forward in the path of duty without immediate success.

I confess I have never counted the cost of these struggles. If I had, I should never have entered on them. But my gratitude to God is constant that in the trials that have come upon me during the past two years I have been enabled to do my duty without regard to consequences. [Cheers.]

In that spirit I stand here to-day for the republican party and for reform, for the complete and entire carrying out of governmental reforms in South Carolina. I am for shaking off all the remaining abuses that now hinder our progress and success. I am for marching forward in the same line which the party as a whole has taken during the last two years. I propose to take no step backwards, but to take up the cause of reform and carry it forward, and I don't know why I am selected to lead in this canvass if that is not the spirit of the majority of this convention and the republican party of South Carolina. [Loud cheers.]

It is needless for me to say that we are entering upon a most arduous and difficult campaign. No campaign which the republican party has seen in South Carolina can compare with this in the intensity of spirit already evoked; in the importance of the contest in the estimation of both parties. We must enter upon it upheld and inspired by our political principles, and not by the mere desire for political power. I shall enter it in that spirit. I propose to advocate throughout the state of South Carolina, wherever the people shall desire me to address them, without fear of consequences, with such protection as the state and United States can give me, in all their length and breadth, the principles of the republican party and republican reform. [Cheers.] But we need to cheer ourselves with a constant appreciation of the cause in which we are engaged; that our liberties, our progress, our happiness, not only as a party, but as a people, are wrapped up in the issues of this campaign. No matter what dangers threaten, let us go forward as honest and sincere republicans. For myself I boast no courage. I fear sometimes that I may turn out to be no better than a timid man. But I do trust still that every drop of blood in these veins of mine would be freely given to stain the scaffold or boil and bubble at the stake before, by any act of mine, the principles of the republican party shall be betrayed or its great record dishonored. [Great applause.]

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